

For about seven

221 months these bands go wandering across the prairie in search of small
 [222] game, small animals such as caterpillars, spiders, grasshoppers,
 rodents, snakes, lizards, and so forth, and fruits, grains, roots or
 wild honey—in short, all that might keep them from dying of hunger.
 Their camps, set up for one or several days, sometimes for several
 weeks, consist of as many temporary shelters as families, made of
 palms or branches stuck in a semi-circle in the sand and connected
 at the top. This is the period when the quest for food absorbs all
 activities. The women equip themselves with digging sticks, and
 221 the men hunt with the bow and arrow, of which several types must be
 4/1 distinguished. The eastern groups have a bow with a flat section
 ●/184 which evolves toward a convex-plane section or a concave-convex
 section when one moves westward. As for the arrows, those made
 for hunting birds have a blunted tip. Arrows for fish have three to
 five points, each one formed like a minute harpoon, and the stem
 is without barb. The poisoned arrows (1), whose tip is protected [15]

1. See below, p. 95.

by a sheath of bamboo, are reserved for hunting monkeys and small
 game. Those for large game have a long lanceolate point. The barb
 is attached or sewed on. Besides the bow and arrow, the men use a club
 [76] which often takes the form of a javelin, and its use is reserved for
 magic and war operations (1).

1. Cf. below, p. 99.

824 The primary materials of the indigenous industry consist of varied
 825 woods, wax from wild bees, resin, fibers of the buriti palm trees
 (Mauritia ~~sp.~~) and tucum (Astrocaryum tucuma) bone of the
 monkey, teeth and claws of mammals, fur (only to make ornaments),
 feathers, quills of porcupines, vegetable shells and river shells, stones,
 4/2 cotton and grains. As implements they have knives made from a sharp
 piece of bamboo, from stones crudely fashioned, or from fragments
 of iron or steel obtained through exchange, and fixed with the aid of
 wax and cord between two pieces of wood forming the handle. Drills
 are made of a borer of stone or iron mounted at the end of a stick
 [77] which they turn between their palms. The Rondon Commission ex-
 panded the use of axes and metal hammers, and the old stone axes
 serve now only as small anvil blocks for fashioning shell or bone.
 [78] The use of stone polishers must also be mentioned and, among the
 objects of current usage, the spindles, combs, baskets and gourds to
 carry water.

500 carry water. Pottery, unknown to the eastern groups, is crude every-
 323 where else. There are neither canoes nor dugouts. The Indians make
 184 five different types of musical instruments, all winds, which are often
 101 heard in festivals.
 534

142 The difference in physical appearance between the Nambikwara
 101 and their eastern, western and southern neighbors—Paresi, Tupi-
 Kawahib and the tribes of the Guaporé—is striking. (2) And they

2. The anthropological study of the Nambikwara was
 the object of research of Dr. J. -A. Vellard, who was
 part of our expedition.

also differ from most of the other tribes of Brazil, whose physical
 type is generally more massive than theirs. In the case of the
 Nambikwara, the body is not exceptionally small; but they are slim,
 and their long hair, sometimes wavy and of more developed pilosity
 than the indigenous median, their hands and feet of reduced dimen-
 sions, their fine lineaments, and above all their faces, of charac-
 teristic outline but very purely chiseled, contribute to form a physi-
 cal type far removed from that encountered most often in South
 America, but which reminds one persistently of certain types of south-
 ern Mexico and Guatemala, and even more of that characterized by
 the masks with pointed beards of the region of Vera Cruz.

. . . .

512 The Nambikwara get up at dawn, stir up the fires, warm them-
 515 selves as well as they can after the cold of the night, then they eat
 lightly of the [16] remains of last evening's yucca cakes. A little
 later the men leave, together or separately, for a hunting expedition.
 The women remain in the camp where they devote themselves to
 culinary duties. The first bath is taken when the sun begins to come
 up. The women and children often bathe together for amusement,
 and sometimes a fire is lighted before which they crouch to warm
 themselves on coming out of the water while they playfully exaggerate
 a natural shivering. Other bathing takes place during the day. The
 512 daily occupations vary little. The preparation of food is that which
 252 requires the most care and time. Yucca must be ground and pressed,
 129 and the pulp dried and cooked. Or else the cumaru nuts (Dipteryx
odorata) which add their perfume to most dishes must be shelled and
 512 boiled. When the need is felt, women and children go out on foraging
 510 expeditions. If the provisions are sufficient, the women spin, crouched

601 Grandparents are most often singled out among themselves, and
 184 distinguished from the parents of the spouse, which does not happen
 in system a (1 or 2); also, the son (or daughter) of the brother (or the
 of the sister) of the father (or of the mother) are sometimes designated
 by different terms. The groups studied are not dense enough to be
 able to make a base for a theory of the system in force. Solutions of
 replacement intervene frequently, and the preferential forms of marriage
 found are not adequate for generalizations, due to an insufficient
 [582] number of cases. But the preceding considerations suggest that preferential
 unions, choosing also among certain categories of cross-cousins,
 could formerly have been in force.

Finally, the names for brothers (and sisters), elder and younger,
 are more changeable than in system a (1 or 2); and one sees appear a
 new term designating the brother or the sister of the other sex. This
 [77] disorganization of vocabulary can be interpreted as resulting from the
 influence of the northern system (dialect c), where we shall see later
 on that it tends more and more to assimilate the system of groups b.

Here is the vocabulary of parentage used, with references to group
a (1/2): [Note: m. s. = man speaking; w. s. = woman speaking;
 m. w. s. = man or woman speaking.]

Dialect a 1/2Dialect b 1/2ahuinosu

1. (ta)mĩnde (my) father, father's
brother.
2. eĩnde father (equals man).
3. uafĩre father (used to designate
absent father, or father
of a third person, or the
father's brother.
4. (ta)mĩnlaore father's brother (equals
other father).
5. (ta)mindũdnere father (father's brother
when he substitutes for
dead father).

aʒkenosu

6. (ta)nãde (my) mother, mother's
sister.
- 7-8. (ta)nãde laore,
ndãore mother (other mother;
for the mother's sister
and the mother of a
third).

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[30] yettua2kírarua2kírneru(t)oañosuaríndesuakenáñosualónsuasí'esuoyensaesuasíkосуaseetasuasineeruasíntuasoufnosu

9. denaúdnere mother (wife of the father's brother. cf. 5)
10. yette child.
11. namade small child, baby.
12. nkíraende son.
13. eíngire son (= little man).
14. nikílaúdnere son (used by the father's brother to the brother's son).
15. ínkeninde daughter.
16. deéíngire daughter (= little woman).
17. ínkániúdnere daughter (adopted).
18. toaáde older sister.
19. kírúnde older sister (?).
20. (t)oañiñiríkre younger sister.
21. nírnde brother or sister of opposite sex.
22. (t)oyatáde older brother.
23. (t)akanaáde younger brother.
24. (t)íreíre, ndeéíre (my) spouse, wife.
25. (t)uíráre (my) spouse, husband.
26. etende husband (equals man).
27. uíráíre husband (when he is absent, or the husband of another).
28. (t)áíute cross-cousin (masc.), sister's husband (m. s.).
29. (ta)dedere cross-cousin (fem.), brother's wife (w. s.).
30. (t)asírare sister's son, daughter's husband (m. s.).
31. (t)asínínde brother's son, daughter's husband (w. s.).
32. (ta)urínde daughter's husband.
33. uírdare 34. uíkiáde brother's daughter (w. s.), sister's daughter (m. s.) son's wife.
35. ndukuínde
36. (ta)kíunde mother's father, father of spouse.
37. íounde 38. (ta)íounde father of father or of the mother.

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asúihosu
asúitu
asúelisu

39. hi2inde.....mother of spouse.

40. 2irunde.....mother of the father or
of the mother.

41. asúite.....son (daughter) of the son
(or daughter), sister of
father (brother of mother)
of father or of mother.

42. asúarore.....children of the son or of
the daughter of the brother
(w. s.), children of the son
or of daughter of the sister
(m. s.).

[31] Descriptive terms:

43. ueikuajinde 44. (ta)uiúdnere... child of a third
person, adopted child.

45. ioone..... adolescent. (masc)

46. tilone..... adolescent. (fem.)

(For orphan, masculine or feminine, widower, widow, see above,
p. 26.)

* * * *

We go now to the system of parentage of the northern group
(dialect c):

1. uáinko..... father.
2. hími..... father's brother.
3. naúko..... mother, mother's sister.
4. asístaba..... father's sister.
5. kooka..... mother's brother, father of the spouse, father
of the father or of the mother.
6. 2irko..... wife of the mother's brother, mother of the
spouse, mother of the father or of the mother.
7. taata..... son, sister's son (w. s.), son of a "wife" (m. s.).
8. taatero..... daughter, sister's daughter (w. s.), daughter
of a "wife" (m. s.).
9. asínu..... son or daughter of the sister (m. s.).
10. taamero..... son or daughter of the brother (w. s.).
11. iaia..... older brother or sister.
12. 2abani..... younger brother or sister.
13. iaata..... wife, daughter of the father's sister, daughter
of the mother's sister.

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- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| 14. <u>tiimo</u> | husband, son of the father's sister,
son of the mother's brother. |
| 15. <u>iopa</u> | sister's husband, wife's brother (m. s.). |
| 16. <u>šiuřtta</u> | brother's wife, husband's sister (w. s.). |
| 17. <u>šiaurtte</u> | daughter's husband, (f. p.), daughter's
husband, "wife's" husband (m. s.). |
| 18. <u>šinaršo</u> | brother's daughter (w. s.), sister's
daughter (m. s.), when she is at the
same time wife of the son (m. w. s.)
or wife of the younger brother (m. s.). |
| 19. <u>šiuři</u> | daughter's children. |
| 20. <u>šoeko</u> | son's child, or of the daughter when
the latter is married to an uncle. |
| 21. <u>zoa</u> | child (married to an uncle). |

[197] [32] This vocabulary of relationships apparently does not offer any affinity linguistically with that of dialects a and b; and the structure of the system also seems different. Without doubt the fundamental principle—the marriage of cross-cousins—remains the same. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient to refer to the list of relatives designated by the terms tiimo and iatta. Again one finds the division of members of the same generation into sisters and wives (m. s.), or brothers and husbands (w. s.) on one side, and on the other, sisters and wives of brothers (w. s.), or brothers and husbands of sisters (m. s.). But the distinction here is more confused, since it is accompanied by an absence of symmetry concerning the designation of the brothers and sisters of parents, and the children of the brothers and sisters of the subject. Instead of finding the first divided into fathers and mothers, fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law, and the second into children, and sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, we have a more complicated terminology. The name of the father's sister (asiataba) differs from that of the wife of the mother's brother (šiuřko), although they are habitually confused in a system of marriage among bilateral cross-cousins. There is also a special name for the father's brother. But, if this latter is a younger brother who has one of his nieces, he will be called brother-in-law (iopa) by his brother's son, his nephew. Even more delicate is the naming of nephews and nieces because the symmetry carried on by the other systems between the children of brother (of a brother) and the children of sister (of a sister) fades out giving way to a new symmetry, this time between the children of sister (of a sister), and the children of the wife (classificatory) of the brother, who are called by the same name. Moreover, the children

601 born respectively from a brother and from a sister receive different
 184 names according to whether they are the sons or daughter of a brother
 582 (of a sister), or sons or daughter of a sister (of a brother). Finally,
 it is no longer normally possible to identify the son-in-law (šiaŋtŋ)
 and the daughter-in-law (šinaŋso) with the nephew or the niece
 (cross-), and the šiušŋ, soeso (the same difference as the asŋttu,
asŋŋte, and asŋelisu or asŋiarore of the preceding systems) do not
 correspond exactly to relatives of the third generation, or to the
 third degree.

601 These contrasts are clarified when one studies the forms of mar-
 184 riage actually practiced. Of eight marriages, five are "horizontal,"
 582 that is uniting a husband and wife coming from the same classificatory
 generation, and three are "oblique," the husband coming from the
 generation of his wife's mother:

- C1 = c2 : brother's son and sister's daughter (horizontal);
- C4 = c5 : husband's brother and wife's sister (horizontal);
- C6 = c7 : mother's younger brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
- C12 = c13 : mother's older brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
- C16 = c17 : mother's younger brother and sister's daughter (oblique);
- C20 = c8 : husband's sister and wife's older brother (horizontal);
- C20 = c21 : husband's sister and wife's older brother (horizontal);
- C29 = c28 : brother's son and sister's daughter (horizontal).

[33] In the absence of genealogical facts, one can even suppose
 that two of the marriages above, classed as "horizontal," are prob-
 ably oblique, given the considerable difference in age between the
 husband and wife (C20 = c8, c21); such is often the case of children
 issued from "oblique" marriages. But even disregarding this possibility,
 the proportion of "oblique" relationships rises when one passes from
 marriages as such to the classificatory relationship of husband and
 wife. Thus C6, for example, calls "wife":

- c2 : wife's sister;
- c5 : sister of father's wife;
- c7 : his own wife;
- c8 : sister of father's wife;
- c13 : wife's sister;
- c17 : wife's sister;
- c21 : sister of father's wife;
- c24 : wife's sister;
- c31 : wife's sister;

there are actually three horizontal relationships and six oblique (di-
 rectly or indirectly, through the already oblique position of the
 intermediary).

We have seen above that the "oblique" marriage is not unknown in the eastern, central, southern and western groups. But it is not so frequent there, and above all, the system of names does not take account of it. The problems resulting from this form of marriage are, then, resolved in two ways: either they preserve the names which have become contradictory, or they displace one or several individuals from the category of kinship to another. The method of the northern system is entirely different, for this is the system whose structure is accommodated to marriage between persons of different generations. (1) This new character is shown by a clearer distinction,

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1. For the theoretical interpretation, it will be compared with the Miwok and Ao Naga systems, as we have analyzed them in another work. (Les structures élémentaires de la parenté, ch. 17 and 22.)

within each generation, between the "elder" and the "younger"; in place of four terms distinguishing the relative age and sex, there are only two, iaja and sabani, which refer to age and apply indifferently to both sexes. Moreover, the term sabani tends to have the general meaning of "young" or "little," and succeeds in specifying, from this point of view, whatever the kinship relationship is (2) implying

2. Cf. below, p. 37, text No. 1.

thus that the quality of sabani is equivalent to displacement to another generation. And actually, even though the older brother and the younger brother can equally claim to marry their sister's daughter, the older brother, even when married to his niece, will continue to be called iaja by [34] his wife's mother. On the other hand, in the same situation the younger brother sometimes passes to the rank of siautite; he is no longer considered as a brother, but as a son-in-law. Moreover, if the term siautite normally means a "horizontal" son-in-law, that is a cross-nephew married to a daughter, it is significant that a man calls siautite his younger brother, who has married a niece, and even a "wife"; and that a woman designates a younger brother married to a daughter in the same way, as has just been seen. Nevertheless, a man calls his cross-cousins (fem.) and his sisters' daughters indiscriminately iatta (wife), while distinguishing the husbands of his "wives" as siautite (horizontal son-in-law), sabani (or siautite, replacing sabani) and iaja.

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It might be considered that these differences as regards the other systems are purely formal. The thing on, however, some important consequences. The preferential marriage between mother's brother and sister's daughter must introduce asymmetry between the children of the brother and those of the sister, thus justifying the use of different names in the two cases. For the same reason, one sees a shift of a classificatory generation appear between a woman who has married an uncle, and that of her parallel cousins. Here is a striking example:

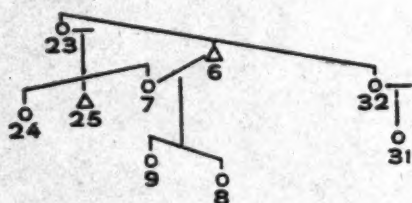


Fig. 10.

c23 calls C6 (in reality, sabani) šlauitte; thus her daughter c24 calls him tjimo (husband), since he is married to her sister, c7, and their brother C25 calls him šopa for the same reason. For c23, her granddaughters (and nieces at the same time) c8 and c9 are šusi, called taftero by the sister of the mother c24, and ašinu by the brother of the mother C25. But if one looks at it from the point of view of c31, the essential fact is not, as in the preceding cases, that C6 has married a daughter or a sister (here, a niece or a parallel cousin), but that he is the mother's brother. Consequently, she calls him koška (father-in-law), and she calls the wife of C6 širko (mother-in-law), and the children of the latter become her šuritta (sisters-in-law).

A double conclusion can be drawn from this analysis. In the first place, it must be remembered that in systems a and b the term for "older brother or sister" also means parallel cousins. Now we have just established that in the system of group c the parallel cousin can actually be displaced to a younger generation, and that such is the case when the marriage is of the "oblique" type. It may, therefore, be that the oblique marriage has occupied a more important place in systems a and b than is the case today. The second point is that the kinship system of group b, with its use of a special term for the brother or sister of the opposite sex, and its distinction [35] between the parents of spouses and the grandparents, takes an intermediary position

601 between systems a and c. It constitutes a sort of transition between
582 the simple, symmetrical and harmonious system of the eastern groups
184 and the more subtle and complex structure of the northern system.
This role corresponds well to the respective geographic positions occupied by the different groups.

CONCRETE STUDY OF THE GROUPS

601 The concrete functioning of the kinship systems previously analyzed has been studied in the following groups:

I. Eastern group (dialect a).

621 (1) Dialect a 1. -A group of 23 individuals composed of six men, nine women, and eight children. This group was found to be temporarily enlarged by the meeting, and sometimes even the temporary combining of bands, whose members present among themselves, and as concerns the first group, analogous kinship relationships. Thus, group (1) was found to be temporarily increased to the point of including 75 individuals (20 men, 30 women, and 25 children).

(2) Dialect a 2. -Several small units each including 6 to 12 individuals.

II. South-central group (dialect b1).

A stable group of 17 individuals composed of five men, six women and six children, temporarily increased, by the meeting with relatives, to 31 individuals (13 men, 10 women, and 8 children).

III. Western group (dialect b2).

A group of 12 individuals composed of four men, five women, and three children.

IV. Northern group (dialect c).

A stable group of 34 individuals composed of 9 men, 11 women and 14 children.

128 The concrete study of the groups will be based on the eastern
114 group a1 (restricted) and on the central group b1 (restricted), the only ones with whom we have lived long enough to set forth a psychosociological analysis.

605 But the relationship of "cross-cousins potentially or effectively allied by the marriage of their sister"—which seems to be the most adequate equivalent of the [77] term tarúte—can be extrapolated largely above and beyond family relationships. In certain cases, it is used to create, among individuals without relations, original ties whose role is to fuse, indirectly, in a same family group, groups formerly heterogenous. It was noted

621 at the beginning of this work (1) that the central and southern

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1. See p. 6.

groups have decreased quite considerably owing to the epidemics of the last fifteen years. Some of them have seen their power reduced to such a degree that the following of an independent social existence in such conditions might seem an illusory objective. Certain ones then grouped together in the hope of re-constituting a workable unity. Thus it is that when we found them the group designated under the title b1 (restricted), comprising 18 persons, and group c, comprising 34 persons, lived together, under the authority of their respective chiefs, but these working together. It is to be presumed also that the decrease in number was not the only reason for that alliance, and that group c represented a fraction of a more numerous group which it had been forced to flee for an undetermined reason. It probably sought greater security in the nomad's life shared with group b1. Some rather obscure events (2) which occurred

2. See p. 103.

during our stay let us glimpse the political background whose details we do not know. Whatever the case may be, the two groups traveled together, camped at the same times, but without mixing their fires, the constituent families forming two adjacent agglomerations. The most surprising trait of this or-

[[9]]ganization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and could not communicate with one another except through one or two individuals belonging to each group who acted as interpreters. Notably, no direct communication existed between B1, chief of the Tarundé, and his colleague C20, chief and shaman of group Sabané. In fact, if there is

In fact, if there is

621 no doubt concerning the close affinity of dialects a1, a2, b1 and b2,
 [197] which do not differ among themselves except as the derivations

182 of a mother language, dialect c offers, as regards the preceding,

- 184 such profound differences that one does not know if one is in the presence of a language of the same family. In any case, in whatever way linguistic study might resolve this problem, it can be reasonably set forth. We do not hesitate, nevertheless (and in spite of anthropological differences), to place group c in the cultural family of the Nambikwara, because of the identity of material culture and way of life, and especially because of the psychological attitude of groups b1, b2 and c as regards one another, who ostensibly recognize their community.

- 621 The union of the two groups posed a problem, that of the
 605 nature of the relationships which would go on between their respective members. This problem [78] has been resolved by the recognition of all male members of group c as being "cross-cousins" --tardte, of all the adult males of group b1, and of all the adult males of group b1 as being the jopa (corresponding to "cross-cousin" in the vocabulary of parentage of group c) of all the adult males of group c. The result, consequently, is that if all the husbands of the two groups are "brothers-in-law among themselves," all the "wives" of a group are "sisters" of the husbands of the other, and all the children of both sexes, in a group, potential husbands or wives of the infants of the other group belonging to the opposite sex. The blood fusion of the two groups is thus definitely assured for the following generation. Here is a type situation which one finds thus realized:



Fig. 18.

The systematic character of this solution is not doubtful. The informants belonging to group b or to group c, when we interrogated them concerning their kinship relationship regarding a male adult of the allied group, never furnished us with a special answer concerning the considered case, but remarked

622 The command carries, moreover, a certain number of fixed
 offices. It is the chief who makes the poison for arrows; and he
 presides over ceremonies of initiation, of marriage or burial, con-
 cerning which we shall speak later. He organizes chants and dances,
 festivals both when they assume a ritual character, and when they
 have as a goal purely secular distraction. It is he who organizes
 622 ball games. The ball game is widespread in western and northern
 526 Mato Grosso, for it is found from the Paressi to the tribes of the
 Lower Guaporé. Among the latter people we have been able to
 gather evidences of its sociological significance. It is perhaps the
 same among the Nambikwara; but, at least during the period of
 nomadic life, the ball game is practiced with a purely recreational
 goal in mind. The teams are built up haphazardly from those present
 and upon the spur of the moment, and the game takes place in a
 spirit of complete improvisation.

WAR AND TRADE

648 The two subjects should be treated simultaneously, commercial
 609 exchanges usually representing potential wars peacefully re-[91]
 439 solved, and the wars, the outcome of unhappy transactions. Among
 the numerous bands which cross through the bush during the dry
 season, it is necessary to distinguish those who are related by family
 ties, and who often represent the population of a winter village—or
 of a group of villages—which has "burst forth" in the pursuit of the
 nomadic life. Among themselves these bands entertain relationships
 which are normally pacific, although not necessarily so. On the
 contrary, bands which are strangers to one another, composed of mem-
 bers not related among themselves and whose geographic location is far
 distant, or who are even separated by differences of language, mis-
 trust one another at the same time that they feel themselves necessary
 to one another. Only when they meet can they procure desirable
 articles which only one of them is capable of obtaining or of making.
 These articles seemed to us to belong essentially to three categories:
 first of all women, whom only victorious expeditions are permitted to
 carry off. Next seeds, notably bean seeds, and finally ceramics, or
 [283] even fragments of pottery used to make the weights of spindles. Group
 [184] al whose cultural level is clearly inferior (especially in its ignorance
 concerning pottery) to that of its western and southern neighbors, ac-
 cording to the word of its chief, had carried on several campaigns
 during the last few years with the goal of procuring these two last articles.

684 conscious function the bringing of psychological compensations
626 incommensurable among themselves, rather than for establishing
[182] equivalences of value.

764 The Nambikwara have two types of burial. The eastern
● 184 groups practice double interment. The bodies are first placed in a
crouching position (āriuaerekiritu, a1) in a circular ditch
(sinitakurisu, a1) seven feet deep heaped up with earth and branches.
For two months, they sing, dance and weep around this provisional
tomb, until the body is decomposed. Then the bones are carried to
the river where they are carefully washed. Then they are carried in
[768] a cloth to be permanently buried in the village. The village is then
abandoned, but the site is often visited:

53. auregande ašunikere kadukorage laurige ende ende ende
inare inaretaire šinoribate (b1)
to dig the grave, to close it, to wait one moon, one
moon, one moon, to take out the bones, to bury them
in the village.

In the central groups, on the other hand, the bodies would be
buried (aot'enikere, b1) in a prone position (ištarige, b1).

The funeral rites distinguish between movable goods and im-
movable goods. The first are carefully destroyed; they break and
burn the weapons; they unravel the beads and necklaces.

[768] The garden of the dead man, if he cultivated one, is, how-
ever, only abandoned, and can be reclaimed later:

54. došore duřige adrede autadařige audotahāmdige audotaāmd
odeneheřre odunhinde njaotumnje narainidānde narařduřige
ařredugejottige den den den naglaode ařre duglortige
řiatuglortige (b1)

The arrows are broken, everything must be broken the
beads are unstrung, the beads of the deceased, the fields
of the deceased are abandoned one moon, one moon, one
moon, and when all is forgotten, another takes the field.

423 Yet it is necessary to avoid confusion on this point. Strictly
speaking, there is no land property among the Nambikwara. The
chief invites his men to group together to cultivate the gardens, but
sometimes such and such an individual decides to clear a field on his
own account. These personal appropriations do not give rise to any
incidents since the cultivatable land is usually far larger than the
collective needs. However, a garden represents a value, because
of the considerable amount of work spent in clearing it, especially
for people who have never seen metal tools until 30 years ago. Also
the rule of destruction of the goods of the deceased respects the

224 to me not to say anything. Later that day he
 264 returned to the spot, built a fire, roasted the snake,
 and ate it by himself.

224 Caymans are hunted by first finding their
 hide-outs under logs or overhanging banks.
 When one is found under an overhanging bank
 the hunters peel a number of slender poles and
 begin to thrust them down through the bank
 to force the cayman out. Men are stationed
 above and below the spot, and as the cayman
 comes out he is shot. When he hides under logs
 the hunters feel for him with their feet. The
 hunters are so nimble that few of them get bitten.
 The large rodent, paca, is also hunted in this way,
 for it hides in holes under overhanging banks.

The large water snake, anaconda, is hunted in
 pools where it lies in wait for game. When the
 hunters have trailed an anaconda to a water hole
 they keep shooting arrows into the water until
 they strike it. The first strike then indicates
 where the snake is, and they continue shooting
 until the snake weakens and can be pulled out.
 Sometimes the snake grabs a hunter by the arm,
 but the others are there to assist if anyone gets
 into difficulties.

Small anteaters are dug out of holes but the
 larger kind which does not go into holes is hunted
 by two men armed with clubs. The men chase it,
 one on each side, and as the anteater turns on one
 he strikes it on the nose with his club and then
 jumps into a tree. The other hunter then strikes
 it. This continues until the anteater dies.

Monkeys are chased from tree to tree until they
 tire and come down to hide in a hole in the ground.
 Dogs can then overtake the monkey or he can
 be shot or dug out of the hole. Deer usually do
 not fall when shot, but the hunter chases the
 wounded deer until he can shoot more arrows into
 it, especially into the legs.

[278
 184] Although the Western Nambicuara are said to
 use arrows poisoned with curare, the Waklitisu
 say they do not use curare but that they know
 how to prepare it and that they formerly used it
 in raids. As arrows do not penetrate bone, the
 hunter tries to shoot at an angle so that the
 arrow will enter the chest cavity, or he will aim
 between the neck and the shoulder bone.

223 The Nambicuara hunt and eat all birds except
 the urubú. Large rheas are not hunted because
 it is difficult to approach them on the open sa-

411 thickness in the middle. This bow is made from the honey-colored heartwood of a small *piuva* tree. After cutting a piece of the required length the bow maker splits it by using two or three axes. He then trims off the outer layer of wood with an ax, shapes it with a knife, and polishes it with *lixeiro* leaves. The inner side of the bow is flat or slightly concave, depending upon how the wood splits. Shoulders are made at each end to hold the bowstring. The bow is made from green wood, no attempt being made to season it. The *siriva* bow is the same shape and is made in the same way but the black wood surrounding the center is used. The *siriva* bow is more common among the Western Nambicuara.

[284] The bowstring (*halunwinieu*) is made from tucum fiber and is about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. The cord is much longer than required and the extra length is wound around the bow for about 6 inches just above the hand hold. The cord is wound from left to right, the running end being brought back over the previous turn to form a cross on the inside of the bow. The string is always smeared with *urucú* (*dúse*). As the bowstring wears out it is not removed but new lengths of tucum fiber are woven into the extra length.

The basis of the Eastern Nambicuara arrow is the jointless shaft (*alukwrikatu*), which appears to be cane (*Gadua* sp.). Before being made into an arrow the cane shaft is heated over a fire to harden it. Into this cane shaft, which is roughly three-eighths of an inch in diameter, a *piuva* foreshaft (*ildikatsutu*) is inserted for a distance of 4 or 5 inches, leaving about 20 inches protruding. The joint is wound with *sipó* vine for about 6 inches. To feather the arrow, a 10-inch macaw feather (*akinénteu*) is split and the halves are laid parallel to one another on opposite sides of the butt end of the shaft. The feathers are lashed to the shaft with cotton twine, the lashings being about an inch apart. Although the feathers are laid straight along the shaft, they assume a propellerlike pitch which gives the arrow its revolving motion when in flight. The lashings are covered with beeswax. The butt has a V-notch to hold the bowstring, which is again tightly wound with waxed cotton twine. By attaching various parts to the end of the foreshaft, four different kinds of arrows about 5 feet long are made.

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhamiquára who inhabit the valley of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Galéra, affluents of the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Pareci.

The Pareci give the names Uáikoákoré and Ouhaniéré to the Nhamiquára, thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixi, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixi those Indians whom the Pareci called Uáikoákoré, and who, as now stated, are Nhamiquára. This name of Uáikoákoré is given by the Pareci of the sub-tribes Kaxinití and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tabura-iná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozáriní group who inhabit the upper parts of the Rio Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jaurú. The term Kabixi is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhamiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the mbacaba. They live by the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the ground, like the Campa-atxiri and the Amúéa of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kétéhé of the Pareci, made from pounded mandioc. The native breu or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is preserved in leaves of the Malé-malé palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutim feather for a nose-ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 1m. 80 to 2m. 38 in length. To draw an arrow of 50cm. between the larger bow and its string of tuam a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, two conave disks of calabaash, about 8 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Malé-malé and breu. The upper disk has three orifices.

sometimes the fathers of several children, walking together at dusk and tenderly embracing each other; always

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(these are) brothers-in-law embracing (each other).

Certain games, too, such as the "scratch game" (in which the opponents try to scratch each other especially in the face), are commonly played by brothers-in-law.

But the close relationship between "cross cousins actually or potentially allied through a sister's marriage"—the more accurate translation of the aboriginal term for brother-in-law—may extend far beyond the family tie. Actually, it is sometimes used to establish between individuals not belonging to the same kin group new links of a special nature, the function of which is to amalgamate into a single familial unit several formerly unrelated groups. This is brought out clearly in the following case.

During the past twenty years, several epidemics nearly destroyed the central, northern and western divisions of the Nambikuara. Several groups were decimated to such an extent that they could no longer successfully maintain a socially autonomous existence. In the hope of reconstituting functioning units, some of these, therefore, attempted to join forces. In the course of our field-work we met and worked with such a merged group made up of seventeen individuals using the northern dialect (*Saldw* group) and thirty-four using the central dialect (*Tordw* group). Each of the originally distinct groups, however, lived under the guidance of its own chief, although both leaders closely cooperated. It is probable that the demographic crisis did not by itself account for this situation, since the people of the second group formed merely a fraction of a more numerous unit from which it had split off for reasons unknown to us. However, from several events which occurred during our stay with them, we deduced that the break had been caused by political dissention, the details of which remained obscure to us. In any event, these groups now travelled and lived together although two separate but contiguous camps were maintained in which the families formed distinct circles, each around its own fire. The most amazing feature of this curious organization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and were able to understand one another only through interpreters; fortunately, one or two individuals belonging to each group had sufficient knowledge of the other dialect to act as intermediaries. Even the two chiefs could not communicate directly. The problem of whether these dialects belong to the same linguistic stock need not be raised here; but the Northern group undoubtedly must be classified with the Nambikuara cultural family because of the similarities of material culture and of the life pattern, and chiefly because of the psychological attitude of the people, who very evidently believed in their close affinity to the Central group.

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145 It seemed to me that these people get their full set of teeth much earlier.

Those molars which are popularly called wisdom teeth, and which are tending to disappear in the white race, are no mere ornaments among the Indians. They are endowed with significant size and function.

264 I believe that the excessive amount of work required of their
145 digestive system is reflected in these dental characteristics. The large molars appear earlier because they are needed for frequent and powerful mastication.

262 They always eat of everything, without discrimination or restraint. To my knowledge, there is no animal they will not eat. They discard only the intestinal tract of the game they kill.

• [192] The Indians of the Juruena River consume more meat than the
[54] others; those from José Bonifácio eat more manioc and maize. Their
164 intestinal gas makes their company unpleasant. They all have furred tongues, and many have gums affected by alveolar pyorrhea. Their teeth, contrary to frequent cases among the Sambaqui skulls, do not suffer from the state of wear which Lund described in 1842 for Lagoa Santa man; but they suffer from caries which do not spare the crowns.

A special skin disease prevails among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. (1)

[13]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, Lectures at the Biblioteca Nacional [National Library] on March 15, 1913, and at the Sociedade Brasileira de Dermatologia, Policlínica Geral do Rio de Janeiro [Brazilian Dermatological Society, Main Polyclinic of Rio de Janeiro], on June 11, 1912.

[181] Actually, some officials of the Rondon Commission had noticed the characteristic scales of the disease. Owing perhaps to a lack of typical cases such as I witnessed, however, they took the spots [13] to be mere skin exfoliations caused by the friction of the body on the ground, where the Serra do Norte Indians sleep.

273 the usual process: they masticate manioc or maize and allow the
mush to ferment in large pots. One drink thus extracted from the
wild pineapple was held in high regard by the personnel of the Tele-
graph Line.

[261] They are especially fond of monkey meat--a last vestige,
266 perhaps, of their former cannibalistic tastes.

I do not think that cannibalism still exists among them. But
I believe that it has not been long since the habit was lost.

It is true, nevertheless, that they often accuse one another
of this practice; they make such accusations in a perfectly clear
manner, by means of unequivocal signs.

372 [233] They make fire by rubbing together two rods similar to
those found elsewhere in Brazil.

This procedure takes much longer than might be expected.

The Indian begins by placing a dry leaf upon the ground; upon
it he rests the "stationary fire stick," which he supports with his foot
and knee.

(Fig. 28)

Holding the "movable fire stick" between the palms of his
hands, he imparts to it the necessary rotary motion, bearing down
with it at the same time against the other stick. This motion forces
the hands downward along the rod; [when he gets to the bottom], the
Indian starts again from the top. Now and then he stops briefly to
lick his palm, which smartens from the friction. After a while, when
sweat is already beading his forehead, a spark strikes up among the
tinder which has been deposited on the leaf.

This process differs from the classical technique only by the
presence of the protective leaf.

Because this procedure is laborious, the Indians carry it out
with reluctance. Desirous of obtaining a film which would document
all their routine activities, I had great difficulty in persuading an
Indian to make fire. This is the reason why, of all gifts, matches are
among those valued most highly; to make fire after their fashion on a
rainy day or in humid weather is a hard and laborious task.

262
[262] The Tagnari and Tawite also eat a certain kind of mushroom
(*Polyphorus* sp.) which the others disregard.

261 which they covered themselves, squatting in a circle beneath the leaves and singing all the while. After a long time they rose, and with the branches still tied to their backs they started dancing around their catch, which was later carved.

115 Unhappily, Gouveia was of an amazing inadequacy. He had lived among them, a captive, for six months; he had actually married an Indian woman, who had tried her best to teach him the language of her forefathers. Yet in the end he fled, bringing back only the vaguest sort of information such as the above, which nevertheless I have deemed proper to record here.

276 Of the stimulants customarily used by primitive peoples, tobacco is the most important [among the Nambicwara] aside from those alcoholic beverages which have already been mentioned.

I have stated earlier that they dry the leaves between two pieces of wood which they stick into the house thatch; when they wish to smoke, they take a leaf and crumble it between their fingers, rolling up the dust in another leaf plucked from a tree which the Cocosu call emandũ.

[238] They also keep tobacco by reducing the leaves to dust which they store in special gourds.

[Fig. 28]

[17] Prior to the arrival of the Rondon Commission, the pipe was unknown among the people of the Serra do Norte. Even today they do not like it and prefer their cigarettes, which are small and quite unlike the huge rolls of some Amazon tribes. [Fig. 30]

Their tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*) is mild and pleasantly scented. On journeys they always carry gourds filled with tobacco dust, or sticks with tobacco leaves; if they feel like smoking somewhere along the way, they stop and form a circle. They proceed as if they were about to have a meal and kindle a small fire. When the cigarettes are finished they continue on their way.

They are extremely fond of our roll tobacco, especially when made into cigarettes with pieces of newspaper...

291
● 184 The Indians of the Serra do Norte go naked. Both men and women wear a straw cord around the hips. The Cocosu wear bands of emhira around the wrists and upper arms, below the knees and

- 29] around the ankles. The Tagnani and Tawite wear similar bands on
● 195 their upper and lower limbs; these, however, are made of cotton,
which is used occasionally by the Cocozu to manufacture articles of
this sort. [Plates p. 242.] Among the Tagnani and Tawite [239],
men often cover their sexual organs with the ends of the straw cord
that encloses their hips. But this is not the rule. The Uaintaçu rarely
wear any of those bands; and among all groups, a few of the Indians
always go completely naked.

[Fig. 29]

- 297 The women and pubescent girls, young and old, single and
married, always wear the hip cord.

[243] Some pregnant women I saw did not wear it; I believe they
had freed their abdomen from this strong pressure in order to breathe
more easily, or perhaps for fear that the girdle should have a pernicious
influence on the foetus.

- 302 They always wear their hair long, hanging over the shoulders;
they clip it irregularly on the forehead with a bivalve shell or a cane
splinter. They liked to have us cut it with scissors.

- 291 They are extremely fond of the hats we wear; it seemed to me
that the heat of the sun on their head distressed them greatly. They
will give almost as much for a hat as for an iron axe.

- 301 One of the jaguar-hide helmets which are now in the [National]
Museum was obtained in the village of Urutau in exchange for an old
and well-worn hat of ours, in spite of the fact that those helmets are
highly prized [by the Indians].

They do not normally wear hide or feather head ornaments.
When they are in a festive mood, they cover themselves with crowns
[diadems] that will be described later, or with jaguar-hide helmets.
It is likely that they also use such ornaments for certain ceremonies,
but we ascertained nothing about this.

[Fig. 32]

- [240] From their ears they hang triangles of mother-of-pearl,
[304] which they extract from river shells; when the hole tears, splitting
the lobe in two, they do not hesitate to have another one.

- [312] The men are much vainer than the women; they adorn them-
selves with feather diadems, earrings, pendants and necklaces, while
the women limit themselves to a few of these.

30]imitate our wedding rings; necklaces [242], several meters long, made of black beads; the feathers of black birds; the limbs of coleopters, also black; all attest to this preference.

[Fig. 45]

[237] The women make beautiful one-piece bracelets from the tail rings of the giant armadillo which they polish with wet stones. [See Fig. 65, p. 59A]

●[194] The Uaintaçu Nambicuara, who come to Campos Novos by way of the Guaporé and who are much more insolent, crude, wary and suspicious, do not attempt to wear the delicate lip plugs used by their relatives.

Some of them wear a porcupine quill fastened to their lip; others, a wooden splinter or a spike from some tree.

291 Also characteristic of the whole Serra do Norte and Juruena
562 Valley is a palm-fiber cape (ialacu), which hangs down the backbone from the neck. [See Fig. 66, p. 59B.] Women do not wear it; it is another example of male foppishness.

302 Body painting with urucu constitutes part of the ornamentation for men as well as for women.

[Plates, p. 236]

[243] They paint themselves on festive occasions; they do not draw lines on the skin, but smear the dye all over their face. Women, [515] after bathing, redden their whole body in this fashion.

[Fig. 44]

[324] The Indians of the Juruena dissolve the urucu powder in pure water; the Tagnani prepare a paste or cream by mixing the dye with the fat of various animals, and perfume it quite pleasantly by way of some unknown process. (1)

1. The Bororo use mastic resin to perfume the urucu paste. See Alfredo de Andrade, "Estudo dos materiais corantes [A Study of Coloring Materials].," Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 28, p. 183.

535 The circling began at seven o'clock in the evening, with continuous chanting. The girls, not once deviating from their course, left regular marks on the dusty ground which were clearly visible in the moonlight. They seemed always to step in the footprints of the first round. Midnight. Near the fires lit by every family, the old people slept; some muttered and poked the embers which gleamed like scattered rubies. Within the circle, perspiring, covered with dust, more dead than alive, we all joined in the chorus: "Tagnanî-i! Tagnanî-i! Tangrê!"

Thus it went on all night. Whenever one of us fled and repaired to his hammock, two or three big husky fellows would come talking volubly, and drive the deserter back to his place...

[82] Unfortunately the words of those chants were not recorded. We only know the two words cited: tagnanî, the name of the tribe, tangrê, which means "star." Was this astrolatry? The three central figures of this dance, in the course of which stars were mentioned, brought to my mind [255] the beautiful constellation of Orion with its Três Marias ["Three Marias"--the Belt].

533 I recorded two Coccozu musical pieces which are rendered here [pp. 73-74]. Prof. Astolpho Tavares has transcribed them into musical notation.

[Fig. 34]

The scale [diapasão] of Nambicuará music is about half a tone lower than our normal scale.

The notes used in the recorded pieces are: do¹, mi^{2b}, fa², fa², sol², la². Neither re nor si appear.

The recorded pieces are in la flat major shifting to mi flat minor (Recording No. 1), and in mi minor (Recording No. 2).

The musical motifs develop in two-part time.

184 The Serra do Norte Indians present two distinct kinds of social organization. From this standpoint, the Tagnanî and Tawite are more advanced than the Coccozu and Anunze.

593 The latter live under a patriarchal regime: the father rules the family, which is often monogamous. The children, after puberty, start new families according to their own wishes [a vontade] and continue to revere their progenitors.

/211 cont. /

114
278 True curares are becoming difficult to find. Many of the modern products brought back as curares or existing under this name in /212/ trade are paralyzing poisons of variable toxicity but with a weak or no curarizing effect. The curarizing effect itself does not interest the Indian; he is only looking for a halting poison producing rapid paralysis with loosening of muscular tonus, no matter by what mechanism, for his arrows. Often also the good faith of travelers has been betrayed and the Indians, anxious about their secret, have given them false recipes or poisons different from true curare. Lastly, some curares are hard to preserve, making it impossible to ascertain their properties upon the return of expeditions.

These causes, so diverse, have always left doubt about the exact composition and method of preparation of curare.

I. Curare of the Nambikwara /Nambicuara/

During my last trip to the central plateau of the Mato Grosso with my colleague Lévi-Strauss, I was present at the preparation of a very simple but active curare by the Nambikwara and accompanied these Indians on the search for the necessary plants.

Curare had not been mentioned as existing among the Nambikwara. The Rondon Commission had certainly observed the existence of an arrow poison among them, but later investigations carried out on arrows sent to Rio de Janeiro had given negative results (Alvaro Ozorio de Almeida and Roquette Pinto). The cause of this failure can only be attributed to the material used in the experiments, which was too old; the arrows keep their activity only a few weeks.

278
184 The composition of curare is the same for all the Nambikwara, but its method of preparation varies from group to group. It must be emphasized that the preparation of this poison is surrounded with more mystery as one goes toward the

/212 cont. /

278
184 southern boundary of the territory of these Indians toward the Amazon. Among the most remote Nambikwara, those on the right bank of the Rio Juruena whose material culture is extremely poor and who do not have a sorcerer, all the men know how to prepare curare. Among the Tagnani living in the region of Campos Novos and the Rio October 12 and the Çabanè living between the campos of Vilhena and the Rio Commémoration, the preparation of curare is reserved either for the chief or more often for the sorcerer (Çabanè). The Tamandé of the Roosevelt River have refused to give any precise information on curare, the preparation of which is the exclusive prerogative of the sorcerer; their arrow poison, which I was able to study, is identical to that of the other groups. The Nambikwara of the Cabixi River also use curare, but I did not obtain /213/ any details about its preparation from these Indians, who visited our camp but spent only one evening there.

278
126 I was present at the preparation of curare for the first time among the Nambikwara of the right bank of the Rio Juruena.

[114] Among the objects gathered for our collections were several poisoned arrows. The first experiments carried out on various animals either with the arrows or with the wash-water of the points revealed a symptomatology recalling that of curare.

[115] Our two chief informants, who were called José Maria and [117] Julio by the civilized people, were influential personages in the group and the principal authors of the massacre of the North American, Protestant mission of the Juruena in 1930.

[123] Patient negotiations led them to show me the plant used by them, and then a little later, to let me be present at the preparation of the poison itself.

Not without fear of being hoaxed, I tested the prepared product: its action was identical in every respect to that of the arrow poisons. The Nambikwara had been honest.

[114]
[162] Two months later in the campos of Vilhena the Çabanè sorcerer, who belonged to the mixed group composed of the